

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SAM-01

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 PM-03 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00

INR-07 NSAE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 /046 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1790

S E C R E T MADRID 03192

FOR AMBASSADOR MCCLOSKEY FROM THE ABBASSADOR

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y FOR MRN 03192 VICE 00192

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MILI, SP

SUBJECT: BASE NEGOTIATIONS

1. AS YOU RECALL, YOU AND ROVIRA AGREED THAT NEITHER SIDE NEED FEEL BOUND BY FORMAT ADOPTED FOR ALTERNATE ROUNDS IN OUR RESPECTIVE CAPITALS AND THAT WE MIGHT MAINTAIN USEFUL DIALOGUE BETWEEN ROUNDS FOR PURPOSES OF CONTINUITY WHEN OCCASION AROSE. THEREFORE, YOU MAY WISH TO CONSIDER WHETHER IT MIGHT BE USEFUL FOR ME TO MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS WHICH SPANISH WILL HAVE TIME TO CONSIDER PRIOR TO PRESIDENT'S VISIT END OF THIS MONTH. SINCE NEXT ROUND IN WASHINGTON MAY WELL NOT OCCUR UNTIL MID-JUNE OR LATER, FEEDBACK FROM SPANISH ON THESE POINTS MAY BE USEFUL IN PREPARING OUR OWN COUNTER-PROPOSALS FOR THAT SESSION.

2. DEPENDING, OF COURSE, ON HOW FORTHCOMING WE MAY BE PREPARED TO BE ON QUID, SOME CORRELATION MIGHT BE USEFULLY MADE BETWEEN SIZE OF QUID AND COSTS IMPOSED UPON US BY MAGNITUDE OF REDUCTIONS WHICH SPANISH HAVE FORMALLY PROPOSED WE CARRY OUT. WE SHOULD NOT LET IT ESCAPE THEM THAT WE CAN HARDLY ENTERTAIN SUBSTANTIAL

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QUID PACKAGE WHILE THEY ARE IN EFFECT IMPOSING LARGE

COSTS ENTAILED IN REDUCTIONS OR RELOCATION , IN  
MAKING THIS POINT, WE SHOULD PROVIDE THEM SOME FIGURES  
OF ESTIMATED COSTS.

3. WE MIGHT ALSO CONSIDER DROPPING HINT THAT IF WE  
REMOVED TANKERS AND 401ST FROM TORREJON IT WOULD HARDLY  
BE WORTH THE NOT INCONSIDERABLE RESIDUAL COSTS OF  
OUR MAINTAINING TERREJON ON VIRTUAA STANDBY. THIS  
MIGHT LOGICALLY BE SPAIN'S OWN RESPONSIBILITY, IN  
ITS OWN SECURITY INTEREST. IT WOULD SEEM TO ME BEST  
APPROACH--TO AVOID GETTING BEYOND "POINT  
OF NO RETURN," THUS PRESERVING FALL-BACK IF IN FINAL  
ANALYSIS WE PREFER STANDBY TO TOTAL DEACTIVATION --  
WOULD BE TO MAKE THIS POINT INFORMALLY BETWEEN ROUNDS  
RATHER THAN DURING FORMAL SESSION.

4. WE SHOULD CONTINUE ARGUMENT THAT IT MAKES NO  
SENSE TO ATTEMPT DISTINCTION BETWEEN PURELY US  
FACILITIES AND THOSE WHICH ARE NOT RELATED. SUCH  
DISTINCTION IS UNREALISTIC AND CAN ONLY BE COUNTER-  
PRODUCTIVE TO OUR EFFORTS TO EFFECT A MEANINGFUL  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPAIN AND NATO.

5. FINALLY,  
I RECOMMEND WE MAKE THE POINT THAT  
REDUCTION AT ROTA WOULD SEEM TO BE ENTIRELY OPPOSED  
TO VERY SPIRIT CORTINA HIMSELF HAS INDICATED TO  
US AS HIS CONCEPT OF USEFUL ROLE OF S BN'S, I.E.,  
EFFECTIVE DETERRENT TO SOVIET IRBM'S.  
STABLER

SECRET

NNN

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